1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[582] *Preliminaries.*—A young man of marriageable age, say between seventeen or eighteen years of age and twenty-five, 584 fixes upon a girl of, say between thirteen and eighteen years, as likely to become a fitting partner; probably he has been acquainted with the young woman for some time before, and is on more or less easy terms of intimacy with her. He mentions the name of the girl to his parents, and uncles and aunts in the house, and they agree or disagree, as the case may be. Sometimes marriages are arranged by the parents of the young people themselves. Having agreed regarding the fitness of the bride, the young man's parents send a male representative of the family, or in some cases a man unconnected with the family, to arrange matters with the parents of the bride. The latter then ascertain their daughter's wishes. According to the late U Jeelan Roy, the daughters nearly always agree, it is very seldom that it is necessary to bring any pressure to bear. The parents then investigate whether there is any *sang*, or taboo, such as clan relationship, between the young woman and her intended, in the way of the marriage. If there is found to be no such hindrance, they fix a date for finally 787 arranging the marriage (*baa ia kut ktien.*) On the day appointed 585 the bride's family consult the auspices by breaking eggs and 842 examining fowls' entrails. If the omens are favourable, well 735 and good. Should they be unfavourable, they abandon the 761 marriage project. There is a strong prejudice against a marriage taking place under unfavourable auspices, the belief being that such an union will be childless, that the bride will die an untimely death, or that poverty will ensue. Given favourable auspices, the parents fix a day for the marriage. It 585 was formerly the custom for the bridegroom to provide himself beforehand with a ring, usually of silver, but, amongst the rich, of gold, which is called *ka synjat* (hence the name of the marriage ceremony *pyniaw-synjat*), and for the bride to provide herself with a similar ring. The bridegroom used to place his ring upon the bride's finger, and the bride used to place her ring upon the bridegroom's finger; it is however believed that this custom is rare nowadays. On the marriage day a man is selected from the party of the bridegroom called *u kniang*, or go-between. The bridegroom then sets out with

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LAMDOH CEREMONY.

This ceremony is identical with that of *Pynhiar synjat*, except that the bride and bridegroom do not interchange rings, and that there is no sacrifice of the pig. The parties merely buy some pig's flesh and perform a puja with a small portion of the flesh of the legs of the animal. Amongst the poor, fish sometimes takes the place of pork at the *Iadih-kiad* ceremony. The latter consists of a drinking bout mingled with muttered sentences by a *nongkinia* (sacrificer), the invocations and prayers being the same as at the *Pynhiar synjat*. The *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-kiad* ceremonies take the place of the more elaborate *Pynhiar synjat* in most places now-a-days.

LYNNGAM MARRIAGES.

The ritual observed at these marriages is described as under: —First of all a proposal is made in the following manner. A *ksiang*, or go-between, is sent, with the brother of the girl for whom a husband is required, to the house of the father of the young man (not to the house of the mother as is the case with the Khasis). If the proposal is accepted, the father of the young man kills a pig, and gives a feast to the people of the village of his father-in-law elect; also to the go-between and the *borang* (brother of the bride). The father of the bride then gives a similar feast. A sum of Rs. 1 each is given as a present to the [431] go-between by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and the father of the bride pays from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 to the father of the bridegroom. Further feasting ensues at the house of the father of the bride. The go-betweens then sacrifice a pig and two fowls at the house of the bridegroom, and afterwards perform the same sacrifice at the house of the bride. At the house of the bride, after the fowls and the pig have been sacrificed, the go-between, after drinking liquor himself, pours out some on the floor of the house and then gives some to the bride and bridegroom to drink. The killing of the fowls, the sacrifice of the pig, and the libation of liquor are essentials at a Lynngam marriage. The sacrifice of the fowls is also an essential feature

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marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the Khasis, however, a Lynngam can marry two sisters at a time. The Lynngam marriages are arranged by *ksiangs*, or go-betweens, much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lynngams intermarry with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony. The death customs of the Lynngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primaeval ancestress, "*ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *dieng-sning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bang-jang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majymma*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or *lyngdohs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants).

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para ar kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Boy

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

Deputy-Commissioner for 1876-77 states that in that year 168 persons in all were brought before the magistrates, the most common classes of cases being theft and house trespass. In the same year 89 civil suits were instituted, of which 83 were for money claims, 2 for immoveable property, 2 for restitution of conjugal rights, and 2 in connection with religion and caste. In the Political Court there were 31 cases tried during the year, of which 13 were civil and 18 criminal. In the latter class of cases process issued against 60 persons, of whom 20 were convicted and 40 acquitted. The details of the two following cases will illustrate the condition of social life in the District. The first was a case of grievous hurt. The Siem of Myl-liem had sent four persons to fetch a man named U Dorja, who had been selected to marry the Siem's sister. While on their way the messengers were attacked by a number of persons, evidently relatives of U Dorja who were opposed to the marriage. One of them was severely beaten, and died within twelve days from pneumonia. The offenders, numbering five in all, were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 10 (£1) each, or in default to suffer fourteen days' imprisonment. The second case was one of oppression. It originated in a dispute about land, situated in a locality over which both the Siem of Nongklao and the Lyngdoh of Soh-iong claimed to exercise jurisdiction. The parties out of possession had gone to lay their complaint before the Siem, whereupon the Lyngdoh, with eight other persons, seized three of the complainants' kinsmen, ill-treated them, and kept them in durance with the object of having the complaint submitted to himself for adjudication. The Lyngdoh was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50 (£5), and his companions were warned and discharged.

JAIL STATISTICS.—There are two jails in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills:—(1) The jail at Shillong, which is directly under the charge of the Deputy-Commissioner; and (2) the lock-up at Jowái, under the Assistant-Commissioner. It has been proposed to build a new jail at Shillong; the present structure consists only of bamboo huts, surrounded by a fence of the same material.

The following are the jail statistics for 1875:—Daily average number of prisoners, 40·91, of whom 1·07 were females; daily average number of sick, 1·42; number of deaths, 4, or 10 per cent. of the average daily strength. The total expenditure was Rs. 7430 (£743), or an average of Rs. 181 (£18, 2s.) per prisoner. This high rate of expenditure is due to the cost of rations at Shillong.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

III. Explanations

1. General

124 Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was
128 checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and
601 Pnár- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a [114] manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/*a* and *b*, 13, 15/*a*, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible Wár-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilise a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

193 All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.)
601 are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sexdetermining preposed articles,
128 as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

601 Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*kha*) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *para kha* (paternal cousins No. 9/*c*), in contradistinction to *para kur*, 9/*b*, (lit. : cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kha* appears also [842] significantly in the terms 15/*a*, 17, 18/*b*, 20, 22, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could lave originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 3 to 3/*b* refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths.
[881] It will be noted that there are (and were in 1914) no indications of puberty-
[584] rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of
[428] diminution [2], which is remarkable for two reasons : (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[2] NISSOR SINGH (1906), p. 84.